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## AN UNRECOGNIZED ACTOR IN GREEK COMEDY

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

**I**N the *Lysistrata* Aristophanes employs a chorus of unmistakable constitution: its members, twelve elderly men and twelve women, are distinguished from one another by their sex; furthermore, these two divisions, which are easily discriminated by their dress, are hostile to one another during the greater part of the play. Each half of the chorus has its own leader.

These half-choruses appear in the *parodos* of the play in succession: the men come in first (254), under command of their leader; in due course the women follow (319), led by a woman. Each of these parts of the play (254-318 and 319-349) contains verses that are rendered by the single voices of the leaders.<sup>1</sup> Presently (350) a dialogue composed in iambic tetrameters, a rhythm especially suitable for the expression of billingsgate, ensues between the leaders. Their lively abuse of one another ends in violence: the man threatens to set the woman's hair on fire with his torch and she drenches him with water from her pitcher. The other women at the same time souse the other men. This scene has its counterpart towards the end of the play (1014 ff.), but the latter is a scene of reconciliation, and it ends not in violence, but with a kiss.<sup>2</sup>

A debate follows (467-613). In this contest of wits, in which *Lysistrata* establishes the just claim of the women to political leadership in Greece, the leader of the half-chorus of women is equally prominent with the leader of the men: she warns the men to have a care (471-475)<sup>3</sup>; she rallies the women (539-540); she exhorts *Lysistrata* in

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<sup>1</sup> 254-255, 266-270, 281-285, 306-318, 319-320. Here and elsewhere in this discussion the numerals in full faced type indicate parts that I think were taken by the leader of the second half-chorus. I have attempted everywhere to follow Brunck's lining. The parts of a single verse are designated by superior lower-case letters.

<sup>2</sup> The scene ends with 1040-1042, which are recited by the leader of the women.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscripts give these verses to the 'chorus of women,' as do the editors generally, but van Leeuwen assigns them to *Lysistrata*. The four preceding verses are assigned by the manuscripts to the 'chorus of men.'

terms of admiration and confidence to go in and win (549-550). She comes forward also individually in the parabasis<sup>1</sup> in verses that just match those of the rival leader: she meets his threat with counter-threat and ranges her companions in order for the singing of the ode (636-637); she praises her sex and taunts and defies the men (648-657, 696-705).<sup>2</sup>

The divisions of the play thus far considered are all marked by that delicate balance of parts that often in the parodos and always in the debate, the parabasis, and the epirrhematic syzygy unmistakably characterizes an old Attic comedy and distinguishes it structurally from tragedy. But this play, as every other comedy of Aristophanes, contains also single scenes that are not marked by this principle of pairing, but correspond, after a fashion, to the episodes and exodes in tragedy. In these the members of the chorus participate in the action, but without speech; the two leaders, on the contrary, have their share, as occasion arises, in both speech and action.

In the first of these after the parabasis, *Lysistrata* enters from the Acropolis and is hailed by the leader of the women, who speaks in trimeters (706-707). *Lysistrata* is disheartened; no reliance can be placed on the women whom she has gathered within the citadel. She is interrupted and eagerly addressed by the leader (710, 712, 714, 716). Other women appear from the main scene and the action proceeds. In the following scene Myrrhine airily abandons her doting husband, and his disappointed passion finds fit expression in anapaests. The leader of the men expresses his sympathy in the same rhythm (959-966) and abuses Myrrhine (968-969):

ταυτὶ μέντοι νυνὶ σ' ἐποίησ'  
ἢ παμβδελυρὰ καὶ παμμυνσαρά.

Immediately the leader of the women sharply retorts (970):

μὰ Δι' ἀλλὰ φίλη καὶ παγγλυκερά.

The verse is properly assigned to the 'chorus of women' by the manuscripts, just as they assign the two preceding verses to the 'chorus of

<sup>1</sup> The form of the parabasis in the *Lysistrata* is precisely that of the *Frogs*, except that it is double. See Westphal, *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus Tragödien*, pp. 36 and 38.

<sup>2</sup> On the rendering of the epirrhema and antepirrhema of the parabasis in comedy, see p. 110 f.

men.' Nobody but the leader of the women could properly express the sentiment that this verse (970) conveys. In the episode which begins at verse 1072, the chorus alone at first is present; then Lacedaemonian ambassadors appear, with whose leader a dialogue begins; Athenian envoys enter and the dialogue is continued. The verses here taken by the chorus are assigned by the Ravenna manuscript to the chorus of men, except those just at the close. This is a natural assignment, — not determined certainly by modest considerations of sex, since the women of the chorus have *not* fled from the scene, but by the fact that the other interlocutors are men. But while 1106–1107 are assigned to the chorus of men in this manuscript, it inserts the lineola before 1108, thereby indicating a change of speaker. It is fair to assume that 1108–1111, in which the rhythm changes, were recited by the leader of the chorus of women. They are directly addressed to Lysistrata and express confidence. Cf. 549–550 and 706–707. Both leaders speak in the exode.<sup>1</sup> The servant enters from the Acropolis, the worse for his potations, and, when he sees the chorus, drunkenly threatens to set the women's hair afire (1217 f.), suggesting to the audience at the same time that they may find the spectacle entertaining. The leader of the women, with genial appreciation of the situation, promptly adds that she and the other women are ready to furnish their share of the fun (1221). This verse is assigned to the 'chorus' in the codex Ravennas. Beer saw that only a woman could properly express the sentiment; no short-haired man would serve. Presently, when an Athenian enters from the banquet, the leader of the chorus of men, in a passage of eleven trimeters (1228–1238), supports his view that good liquor promotes fellowship. These verses are assigned to the 'chorus' in the codex Ravennas and the passage is one of the evidences against the prevailing mischievous opinion that no declaimed part of more than a few verses should be assigned to a coryphaeus.

The manuscripts recognize half-choruses in this play, the one of elderly men, the other of women,<sup>2</sup> although both the Mss. and the early

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the assignment of parts in the exode in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, II (1890), 196 f.

<sup>2</sup> The phraseology in codex R is ἡμυχ(δριον) γυν(αικῶν) before 321 and ἡμυχ(δριον) before 326 (*sic*), elsewhere χο(ρὸς) γερῶντ(ων) or χο(ρὸς) ἀνδ(ρῶν) and χο(ρὸς) γυν(αικῶν), or in a few instances simply χο(ρὸς).

editions are in sad confusion in their assignment of many of the parts. The scholiast<sup>1</sup> and the modern editors likewise assume that the chorus was divided. Furthermore, Enger, in his edition of the play,<sup>2</sup> speaks of a 'coryphaeus' of the women;<sup>3</sup> Muff, in his assignment of the parts, has a 'Chorführerin' as well as a 'Koryphäus';<sup>4</sup> and finally van Leeuwen inserts 'Dux Mulierum' as well as 'Κορυφαῖος' in his text along with other designations of *dramatis personae*.<sup>5</sup>

The half-choruses of the *Lysistrata* are not peculiar to this play; on the contrary, the division of the chorus of twenty-four members into two half-choruses is, in my opinion, a characteristic feature of the old Attic comedy. Half-choruses are designated in existing manuscripts of Aristophanes and are entered in editions of that author for a period of nearly three hundred years from the Princeps to the time of Brunck; but the record in the manuscripts is scanty and confused,<sup>6</sup> just as the ascription of parts to speakers in the manuscripts is incomplete and inconsistent, chiefly in consequence of the use of compendia for the names of the *dramatis personae* and of the lineola and double dot to indicate change of speaker. Editors of Aristophanes in the nineteenth century inclined to ignore the division into half-choruses, except where it was impossible to do this, and contented themselves with the simple entry *χορός*, with no indication of the precise signification they attached

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schol. 321: πέτου πέτου· νῦν ἔστιν ἡμυχόριον τὸ λέγον ἐκ γυναικῶν εἰσερχομένων ἀνωθεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν καταχέωσιν ἀνωθεν. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμυχόριον ἐξ ἀνδρῶν κάτωθεν ἐπερχομένων ταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εἰς πολιορκίαν.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1844.

<sup>3</sup> See his notes on 706, 797, 821.

<sup>4</sup> *Ueber den Vortrag der chorischen Partien bei Aristophanes*, p. 157 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In his edition of the play (1903).

<sup>6</sup> The facts are as follows for the two oldest manuscripts. I use Brunck's lining. Codex Ravennas: Ach. 557 χο 560 ημυχ 562 ημυχ 564 — 566 — 572 λαμαχ 575 χο Vesp. 415 βδε 416 χο 417 — 418 ημυχ 420 ξανθ 422 — *Ibid.* 441 ημυχ 448 φιλ 453 — 456 βδελ 457 ξανθ 458 — 459 οἰκετ 460 — 461 — 463 ημυχ 466 — 471 βδελ 473 — 478 βδελ 480 ημυχ *Ibid.* 1060 ημυχ Pax 1332 ἡμυχο 1333 ἄλλο 1335 — Aves 1720 ημυχ 1731 ἕτερον ἡμυχ Lys. 321 ημυχ γυν 326 ημυχ Ran. 354 ἡμυχορ 372 ημυχο 382 ημυχ ἡ ιερεὺς 384 ημυχ Ec. 1163 ημυχ 1166b ἡμυχ 1167 ημυχ 1178 ημυχ Codex Venetus: Pax 1332 ἡμυχ 1333 ἄλλο (ἡμυχό supra) 1335a: 1335b — 1336 — 1337 — 1338 — 1339: 1340 — 1343a — 1343b: 1344 — 1347 — 1348 — 1349: Aves 1720 ἡμυχ 1726 — 1731 ἔτε ἡμυχ Ran. 372 ἡμυχορ εστιν — 382 ἡμυχορ 384 ἄλλο με χρ 402 μέοος χρ 416 χρ *Ibid.* 448 ἡμυχορ

to the word. Furthermore, as will appear in the course of this discussion, they sometimes curtailed the functions of the chorus in parts that were not lyrical, in consequence apparently of their belief in a high stage or of preconceptions in regard to what part a 'chorus' might or might not have in dialogue.<sup>1</sup> Some editors, however, recognized the division into half-choruses in other plays than the *Lysistrata*<sup>2</sup> and in one of them at least all are compelled to recognize it.<sup>3</sup>

I refer to the *Acharnians*. In one scene of this play the two halves of the chorus are brought into collision. The scene begins (496 ff.) with the long speech in which Dicaeopolis states the case for Sparta. At the close of his argument he is threatened by the leader of the first half-chorus (557-559), who then angrily addresses the other leader (562-563). The latter, in turn, supports Dicaeopolis (560-561, 564-565). Here the manuscripts mark the parts of the altercation with ἡμυχόριον<sup>4</sup> and the editors follow; but the verses are trimeters and must have been declaimed by single speakers. The conclusion must be that these speakers, corresponding to the man leader and the woman

<sup>1</sup> On half-choruses as a characteristic feature of Greek comedy, see R. Arnoldt, *Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes*, p. 172 ff.; Th. Zielinski, *Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, p. 249 ff.; A. Couat, *Division du choeur dans les comédies d'Aristophane*, in *Mélanges Henri Weil*, p. 39 ff. See also Christ, *Metrik*<sup>2</sup>, p. 652 ff.; A. Müller, *Griechische Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 219; Haigh, *Attic Theatre*<sup>2</sup>, p. 346. The three authorities last named all cite Arnoldt's statistics (*Chorpartien*, p. 180 f.), but it should be noted that these are not accurate. (See the preceding note.) Only once does codex R prefix ἡμυχόριον to ode or antode of the *parabasis* (*Wasps* 1060), codex V not at all. Arnoldt's inferences from Bekker's silence in the critical apparatus of his edition were not warranted; but the record of the manuscripts is nevertheless significant, and there is other evidence of the strongest character that in comedy the division of the chorus into half-choruses was the normal arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> As Bekker in his edition (1827), G. Hermann in his second edition of the *Nubes* (1830), and von Velsen in his editions of the *Frogs*, *Ecclesiazusae*, and *Thesmophoriazusae*.

<sup>3</sup> Even Muff. See his *Chorpartien*, p. 98 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 557 ἡμυχ. A Γ E Vp3 C E2 M9 B Vb1 Xop. R om. Vp2 H 560 ἡμυχ. R A Γ E Vp2 Vp3 H C M9 B Vb1 om. E2 562 ἡμυχ. R Γ Vp2 Vp3 H C B Vb1 om. A E E2 M9 564 ἡμυχ. Γ E Vp2 H E2 M9 B Vb1 — R om. A Δικ. Vp3 C 566 ἡμυχ. Γ Vp2 H B Vb1 — R om. A E Vp3 C E2 M9 572 Λαμ. R Γ E Vp2 Vp3 H C E2 M9 B Vb1 om. A 575 Xop. R Δικ. Γ E Vp2 Vp3 H C E2 M9 B Vb1 om. A 576 Xop. lib. omn.

leader in the *Lysistrata*, were the coryphaei. The first leader, finally, calls for Lamachus and in his excitement breaks into dochmiacs.<sup>1</sup> Lamachus appears. The second leader jeers him (575) in words presently imitated by Dicaeopolis, and the first charges Dicaeopolis with his offense (576-577). The facts seem to be unmistakable; but if the leaders appear as single speakers in this part of the play it is not unreasonable to assume that they have the same function elsewhere. This assumption is confirmed by the symmetrical arrangement of the first parodos.<sup>2</sup>

My purpose in this paper is to present the evidence that the leader of the second half-chorus, whose existence in Aristophanic comedy is not to be denied, probably had a larger function than has yet been allowed him. I assume that the division into half-choruses was normal. It may be well, before proceeding with the consideration of the second leader's activity in declaimed and recitative parts of the plays, where he was essentially an actor, to note his lyric function. This was larger than that of any other member of the half-chorus to which he belonged, for he was not only leader in the antodes which the members of the second half-chorus sang, or danced and sang, together, but appeared also in the commatic antodes as a soloist, in lyric dialogue with one of the actors. Amoebaeon odes and antodes abound in the comedies of Aristophanes. In some of these the correspondence in ode and antode is not between leader and leader, but between one of the leaders and an actor, as in *Acharnians* 929-939 = 940-951, where in the ode Dicaeopolis sings 936-939 and the second leader four of the corresponding verses, 948-951. It is improbable that the whole half-chorus sang the verses last mentioned, twelve voices responding to one. The melody of the solo in the ode would not be adapted to choral rendering in the antode. We must assume, then, that the single voices of the two leaders here rendered, in ode and antode respectively, the parts assigned to the 'chorus' in the manuscripts. Compare with this 403-429 = 461-487 in the *Wasps*, where the 'chorus' have 403-404 and 416<sup>a</sup> in the ode

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<sup>1</sup> Vv. 566-571 are not the metrical equivalent of 490-495 and do not, as antode, mark the beginning of the second half of a syzygy.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 120 f.

and Bdelycleon 461-462 and 472<sup>a</sup> in the antode.<sup>1</sup> Verses 406-433 of the Birds, although not antistrophic, afford an excellent example of a lyric duo. Here rhythm answers exactly to rhythm in the question and answer of chorus and actor until just at the close of the number.<sup>2</sup> In many of these amoebaeian odes and antodes the correspondence is exact. Here we may feel doubt whether the parts assigned to the 'chorus' were rendered by a single voice or by twelve voices, but the inference from analogy in favor of the dual rendering of ode and antode is confirmed by considerations of meaning. The sentiment is often such that it seems somewhat absurd to assume choral rendering in answer to the solo of an actor. Compare Acharnians 1008-1017 = 1037-1046, Peace 856-867 = 909-921.<sup>3</sup>

I resume the consideration of those parts of comedy in which verses in declaimed or recitative rhythm assigned to the 'chorus' were rendered by a single voice and were probably taken, in due turn, by one or the other of the leaders of the two half-choruses.

The leader of the second half-chorus certainly seems to take part individually in the paired or epirrhematic portions of comedy. In the debates and syzygies, in particular, the verses assigned to the 'chorus' that immediately follow the antode naturally belong to him. These commonly express exhortation addressed to an actor and correspond in position and sentiment to an equal number of verses that follow the ode. The debate in the Birds begins with the customary ode (451-459) rendered by the entire first half-chorus. On its conclusion, the leader of this half-chorus addresses Peithetaerus in words of encouragement (460-461). The epirrhema, in which Peithetaerus convinces the birds of their hereditary right to the sovereignty of the universe, and the macron follow. Then these four parts are repeated in antode, counter-exhortation, antepirrhema, and antimacron. After the antode,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Peace 459-472 = 486-499; Thesmophoriazusae 667-686 = 707-725; Wasps 291-302 = 303-316; Birds 1313-1322 = 1325-1334, where the manuscripts assign 1315 to Peithetaerus, but 1327 to the 'chorus.'

<sup>2</sup> For the distribution to the two leaders of the half-choruses of the verses here assigned to the 'chorus' in the manuscripts, see below, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> For other examples, cf. Acharnians 284-302 = 335-346; Wasps 334-345 = 365-378, 526-545 = 631-647; Peace 939-955 = 1023-1038. For a discussion of this question, see Zielinski, *Gliederung*, p. 260 ff.



sung by the second half-chorus, the two verses of the counter-exhortation (548-549) immediately follow. These are addressed to Peithetaerus in terms of confidence. They are in the same rhythm as 460-461 and were taken by a single voice. Surely the natural supposition is that they were recited by the leader of the second half-chorus who has just conducted the antode. Instances of this paired function of the leaders are not rare. Compare Knights 407-408 = 333-334, 841-842 = 761-762; Clouds 1034-1035 = 959-960, 1397-1398 = 1351-1352; Wasps 648-649 = 546-547; Lysistrata 549-550 = 484-485. This paired relation of the leaders is sometimes found in epirrhematic syzygies. In the Thesmophoriazusae, after the ode (667-686), two trochaic tetrameters (687-688) recited by the first leader introduce the following trimetrical epirrhema. Corresponding to these are two trochaic tetrameters (726-727) that follow the antode and are taken by the second leader. Compare in the Acharnians 391-392 = 364-365, where the single voices of the leaders are heard in trimeters, following respectively the excited dochmiacs of the entire half-choruses, and Wasps 379-380 = 346-347 in the first parodic syzygy (333-402). Compare also, in the first debate in the Knights, 389-390 = 312-313.

How the epirrhema and antepirrhema of the parabasis in comedy were rendered is a question about which scholars have held divergent views. G. Hermann thought they were recited by the leaders of the two half-choruses who rendered the ode and antode.<sup>1</sup> Enger suggested that they were taken respectively by four members of each half-chorus.<sup>2</sup> Westphal held that ode and epirrhema constituted a single lyrical number and were both rendered by the whole chorus with dance and song.<sup>3</sup> In support of this view that ode and epirrhema were parts of a single whole, he laid weight on what he thought was the intimate logical

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<sup>1</sup> "Et primae quidem tres partes a coryphaeo recitantur; ἐπιρρημα et ἀντεπιρρημα autem a ducibus hemichoriorum." *Epitome Doctrinae Metricae*<sup>4</sup>, p. 240. See also his review of Kolster's *De parabasi* in Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, XI (1829), p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. X (1854), p. 119. Enger assumed that, at the time he made this suggestion, the opinion prevailed generally that the 'coryphaeus' recited both epirrhema and antepirrhema. See also Christ, *Metrik*<sup>2</sup>, p. 667 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus Tragödien* (1869), p. 40 ff. See also *Allgemeine Theorie der musischen Künste*<sup>3</sup>, III, 1 (*Allgemeine Theorie der griechischen Metrik*), p. 250.

connection between verses 1171 (end of the antode) and 1172 (beginning of the antepirrhema) in the second parabasis of the Peace. But it has been pointed out that this connection is fictitious.<sup>1</sup> A complete sentence ends with 1171 and a new theme—the hardships of war—is taken up in the following antepirrhema. When, furthermore, we consider the contents of the epirrhemata and antepirrhemata of the parabases, it is difficult to believe that they were rendered by twenty-four persons in song, with the accompaniment of the cordax. These were topical addresses to the audience, full of local hits. The first consideration must have been that they should be so rendered that the audience could take the jokes. It must frankly be confessed that this point, as countless other questions which the modern interpreter of Aristophanes must face when he attempts to determine the scenic presentation of a play, cannot be finally settled. Happily these were not questions at all for the audience that gathered in the ancient theatre to *see* the play as well as to hear it. If the simple solution that Hermann proposed is finally adopted, it is obvious that the second leader had a large and important function in the parabasis, although it was inferior to that of the first leader.

So far as I am informed, Hermann did not employ this principle elsewhere than in the epirrhemata of the parabasis; but he went farther, and applying the results of his studies in Aeschylus to Aristophanes affirmed the extreme view that all twenty-four members of the comic chorus might appear in succession as soloists, indifferently in lyric and recitative rhythms, in rendering a continuous passage. He exemplified this view in a well-known article, published in 1843,<sup>2</sup> in which he redistributed the parodos of the Wasps among the members of the chorus and the actors. Arnoldt, after a series of preliminary studies, applied Hermann's principle to eight comedies of Aristophanes in a book<sup>3</sup> whose chief merit, in my opinion, is its acute argument in support of the theory of half-choruses in comedy. Finally, Zielinski in a remarkable investigation<sup>4</sup> rejected Arnoldt's conclusions for the eight plays

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<sup>1</sup> Arnoldt, *Chorpartien*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> *De choro Vesparum Aristophanis*, *Opuscula* VIII, p. 253 ff.

<sup>3</sup> His *Chorpartien*, cited above.

<sup>4</sup> His *Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, cited above.

and reverted to Hermann's theory of dual rendering, but applied it — and with serious limitations at that — only to the epirrhematic parts of comedy: parodos, debate, parabasis, and syzygy. A 'coryphaeus,' however, appears elsewhere in comedy, in single scenes, episodes, exodes, and even a prologue, and it is manifestly inconsistent to assume that only one leader has a function in these parts if two are active everywhere else.

The debate is now a recognized division of the old Attic comedy, thanks to the acute observations and investigations of Westphal,<sup>1</sup> Zielinski,<sup>2</sup> and Humphreys.<sup>3</sup> It is a regular feature of the epirrhematica of nearly all the complete debates that the two persons at odds appeal to a third, whom they try to convince of the justice of their respective claims, and that this third person with one exception has a speaking part, but relatively a limited part, in the discussion. In the first debate in the Knights (303-460) and in the Birds (451-637) this third person is the chorus, represented by its two leaders; in the second debate of the Knights (756-942), it is Demus; in the Clouds (949-1104), Pheidippides, who is present and appealed to, but does not speak; in the Wasps (526-727), Philocleon, who is at the same time the second party in the debate, but whom his son is struggling to convince of the error of his ways; in the Frogs (895-1098), Dionysus, who is so important a personage that some editors have assigned him the hortatory verses (905-906 and 1004-1005),<sup>4</sup> following the ode and antode, that elsewhere are delivered by the two leaders.<sup>5</sup> Another or even two other speakers, but with inferior parts, may be present, as Demosthenes in the first debate of the Knights, the chorus in the second, Euelpides and the Hoopoo in the debate of the Birds, and the First Woman and Second Woman in that of the Lysistrata.

Zielinski misinterprets this characteristic feature of the epirrhematica in the debates and lays down the singular and untenable principle that

<sup>1</sup> *Theorie der musischen Künste*<sup>3</sup>, III, 11 (*Specielle griechische Metrik*), p. 133 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Gliederung*, p. 9 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *American Journal of Philology*, VIII (1887), p. 179 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscripts give 905-906 to Dionysus, but — so far as they make an assignment — 1004-1005 to the chorus.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 109 f.

the chorus cannot appear in them as a speaker,<sup>1</sup> although the application of this principle forces him to deal with the traditional ascription of parts in the manuscripts in a very arbitrary manner. In the epirrhemata the two debaters hold the floor, — in the Clouds without interruption, although Pheidippides is the person to whom they address their arguments.<sup>2</sup> Why the chorus takes no part here, nor in the second debate in the Knights and in those of the Wasps and Frogs is obvious: it is not the person addressed. In the Birds the situation is different. The debate in this play preserves the prescribed fixed form, but there is in reality a single debater, Peithetaerus. In the epirrhema he endeavors to convince the Birds, namely the chorus, that sovereignty is rightly theirs;<sup>3</sup> in the antepirrhema he develops his plan for securing it. Euelpides is βωμολόχος throughout. It is doubtful whether the Hoopoo should be allowed to speak in the epirrhema at all; if he appears in the antepirrhema, it is as supporter and ally of Peithetaerus.<sup>4</sup> The chorus is the important personage to whom Peithetaerus in both parts addresses himself, and as we should expect the manuscripts recognize its presence as a speaker, exactly as Demus and Dionysus are recognized and take part in the Knights and Frogs. It is the 'chorus' who say at the beginning of the debate: 464<sup>b</sup> δειπνήσομεν μέλλομεν; ἢ τί; 467<sup>b</sup> ἡμεῖς βασιλεῖς; τίνος; 470<sup>b</sup> καὶ γῆς; 470<sup>d</sup> τουτὶ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐπε-  
πύσμην. Here, as elsewhere in many instances, the manuscripts report

<sup>1</sup> *Die Gliederung*, p. 117 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Clouds 990 πρὸς ταῦτ' ὃ μεράκιον κτέ. 1000 εἰ ταῦτ' ὃ μεράκιον κτέ. 1002 ἀλλ' οὖν λιπαρὸς γε κτέ. 1009 ἦν ταῦτα ποιῆς κτέ. 1071 σκέψαι γὰρ ὃ μεράκιον κτέ. In the Knights Demus is addressed in like manner, and he answers, when occasion requires. Cf. 767 ff., 769 ff., 773 ff., 777 ff., 786 f. (Demus speaks), 790 ff., 820 f., 821<sup>b</sup> f. (Demus), 823 ff., 850 ff., 858 f. (Demus), 860 ff., 868 ff., 870<sup>b</sup> (Demus), 871 f., 873 f. (Demus), 875 ff., 883<sup>b</sup>, 884 ff. (Demus), 891<sup>b</sup> f. (Demus), 893 ff., 895<sup>b</sup> (Demus), 896 ff., 899 (Demus), 900, 901 (Demus), 904<sup>b</sup> f., 906 f., 908, 909, 910, 911<sup>a</sup>, 911<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Note the phraseology in 462: καὶ προπεφύραται λόγος εἰς μοι. This refers to his task in the epirrhema. εἰς is not to be 'emended.'

<sup>4</sup> So far is he from being the other debater, as Zielinski thinks (p. 16). The Hoopoo is thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the plan even before the chorus appears. Cf. 194-197. Meineke and Kock exclude him altogether from both antepirrhema and epirrhema.

divergent traditions, but there seems to be no doubt that they agree in recognizing the presence of the chorus.<sup>1</sup>

The situation is the same in the first debate in the Knights (303-460). After Cleon and his adversary, the most important person in the scene is the chorus, and the manuscripts record the fact.<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes is *βωμολόχος* and has an inferior rôle. Some editions make him unduly prominent.

When now the 'chorus' comes forward in the debates in other than lyric parts, it is reasonable to conclude that it is represented by the two leaders of the half-choruses; the first leader appears in the first half of the debate, and the leader of the other half-chorus in the second.

The same assignment of paired functions occurs in the syzygies, but in these, especially in the trimetrical syzygies, the chorus by the economy of the drama has relatively an unimportant part, except in ode and antode. Nevertheless both leaders appear. In the Knights the first leader addresses the Sausage-man (611-614) on his triumphant return from his bout with Cleon before the Senate. This is the leader of the half-chorus that immediately breaks into song and dance. The first leader also has the single verse in the Wasps (728) that introduces the following ode. The preceding anapaestic tetrameters (725-727) that end the debate have been recited by the second leader. In the Peace the first leader, who has just had an active part in the preceding commatic ode (459-472), participates (479-480) with Trygaeus and Hermes in the following trimetrical dialogue.<sup>3</sup> In the Birds the first

<sup>1</sup> The record in eleven manuscripts is as follows. Epirrhema: 464<sup>b</sup> Xop. R V Γ M Vp2 H C E2 M9 B om. A 467<sup>b</sup> Xop. R A Γ Vp2 H C E2 M9 B : V — M 470<sup>b</sup> Xop. R A Vp2 H C : V — M 'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 470<sup>d</sup> Xop. R A Vp2 H C — M 'Επ. V Γ E2 M9 B 476 Xop. A Vp2 H C om. R M — V 'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 511 Xop. Vp2 H C Εὐ. ῆ Xop. Γ B Εὐ. A E2 M9 om. M — V 'Επ. R Antepirrhema: 553 Xop. A Γ B om. V M E2 — R 'Επ. Vp2 H C M9 555 Xop. Vp2 H C om. R V A Γ M E2 M9 B 587<sup>b</sup> Xop. Γ Vp2 H C B om. M — R V 'Επ. A E2 M9 592 Xop. Vp2 H C — R V A M 'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 595<sup>b</sup> Xop. Vp2 H C om. M — R V A 'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B 603 Xop. H C om. Vp2 B — R V A 'Επ. Γ M E2 M9 606 Xop. Vp2 H C — R V A 'Επ. Γ M E2 M9 B 608<sup>b</sup> Xop. Vp2 H C om. V A — R M 'Επ. Γ E2 M9 B

<sup>2</sup> See the report on the manuscripts in Zacher's edition (1897), v. 337 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In the fourth syzygy of the Peace (922-1038) the early editions, including the *Princeps* and the first *Juntine*, and most modern editors make the chorus one of the speakers in the dialogue in verses 922-938. Cod. R and Cod. V assign 922 to the *θερά-*

leader, when the messenger leaves the scene and Peithetaerus is lost in reflection, recalls him to the situation (1164-1165), and the second leader delivers the exhortation in trimeters that immediately follow the ode (1196-1198). In the Thesmophoriazusae the first leader prefaces the First Woman's speech with an appropriate remark in iambic tetrameters (381-382). In the first syzygy of the Wasps (334-402), which is parodic, the first leader, when the commatic ode has been sung, continues the dialogue (346-347, 350-351, 354-355) in recitative with Philocleon, with whom he has just been singing a duo. The second leader has verses that correspond, after the antode (379-380, 383-384, 387-388). In the following parodic syzygy (403-525) their respective parts are heavier (403-404, 416<sup>a</sup>, 417-419, 422-425, 428-429, 437, 441-447, 453-455; 473-477, 480-483, 486-487).

Omitting the consideration of the parodos for the present, I proceed to discuss the single or unpaired parts of Attic comedy. In these the fact of the appearance of the second leader as a speaker may seem less certain, since the indications furnished by ode and antode are lacking. The probability, however, that he comes forward actively in these parts in all the plays is supported by three considerations: first, granted that he speaks in the double or paired parts, it would be singular if he should be wholly silent elsewhere; secondly, the evidence is complete and is generally accepted by the editors of Aristophanes that he does appear in two of the plays in unpaired parts;<sup>1</sup> thirdly, the recognition of his

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πῶν, 923 to Trygaeus, and thereafter they mark the distribution of parts by the lineola. The verses ordinarily assigned to the chorus should probably be given to the *olkérs*. The chief reason for this is not that R and V seem to make this assignment, but that slight participation of the chorus in the dialogue is characteristic of the trimetrical syzygies, that is of all except the two parodic syzygies in the Wasps. Dobree first assigned these verses to the *olkérs* (*Adversaria Critica*, IV, p. 212). The *olkérs* has a correspondingly important part in the second half of the syzygy. In this some modern editors assign 973<sup>b</sup> and 978-986 to the chorus against the authority of R and V and the second Juntine edition. (The verses are omitted in the Princeps and first Juntine edition.) Similarly in the first syzygy of the Birds, Beer, *Über die Zahl der Schauspieler bei Aristophanes*, p. 37, assigns 809<sup>a</sup>, 811<sup>b</sup>-812, 814<sup>b</sup>-816, 817<sup>b</sup>-819<sup>a</sup>, 820, 826-827, 829-831 (?), 833-835<sup>a</sup>, to the chorus without manuscript authority. He is followed in the main by Muff; van Leeuwen also introduces the Coryphaeus into this scene, excluding the Hoopoo from the action of the play altogether after the parabasis.

<sup>1</sup> Ach. 560-561, 564-565, 575 (see above, p. 107 f.); Lys. 706-707, 710, 712, 714, 716, 970, 1108-1111, 1221 (see above, p. 104 f.).

presence, to which there can be no inherent objection, often lends great vivacity to the action.

Single scenes abound in the comedies of Aristophanes ; they are found in each play, but occur chiefly in the first half of it. With one exception they are trimetrical. They rarely close with an anapaestic or lyric movement, but are so placed in the general scheme of the development of the action as commonly to be followed by verses in another rhythm, frequently by a lyric. The preceding part also generally ends in a different rhythm. The scene may include within its limits inserted lyrics, or parts written in long rhythms, or even passages in prose. The chorus appears in about one half of these scenes as a speaker, the lyrical parts not included. This 'chorus' is sometimes addressed by the actors in the singular number, and is thus individualized. Assuming that 'chorus' in this case signifies not a single coryphaeus but the leaders of the two half-choruses, the distribution of the parts in certain of the plays might be as follows.

In the first scene of the *Knights* (461-497) the leaders are in agreement, as is generally true, and both support the hero of the play. The second leader has just bestowed words of hearty praise (457-460) on him, at the close of the preceding debate, for his gallant struggle against Cleon. In the following dialogue Cleon shows unexpected command of metaphor and the first leader is dismayed (464) ; when the Sausage-man rallies and answers in kind, the second leader breaks forth in joyous approval (470). Towards the close of the scene, when Cleon makes off to lay his case before the Senate, the first leader exhorts the Sausage-man to follow (482-487) and hands him oil (490-491) with which to smear himself for the coming struggle, and the second leader primes him for the fight with garlic (493<sup>a</sup>, 494-495<sup>a</sup>) and bids him God-speed (495<sup>c</sup>-497). The effect of the bustling action of this scene is much increased by assuming three participants. The important fact, which is by no means unique, should here be noted that the last of these verses (from 490) are assigned by all the manuscripts to the chorus, but to Demosthenes by the recent editors, who record that Enger made the 'correction.' The change is doubtless due to a belief in a high stage;<sup>1</sup> the editors thought the action impossible. But probably both

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<sup>1</sup> See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, II (1890), p. 173 f.

"old-stagers" (who are coming to be low-stagers) and "no-stagers" will now agree that this is not sufficient reason for refusing to accept the assignment of parts made in the manuscripts. Similarly, in the last scene in this play (1151-1263) some editors refuse to give 1254-1256 to the chorus, although to assign them to Demosthenes brings four actors on the scene at once. These verses, I think, were spoken by the first leader, and the preceding verse (1253) by the second.<sup>1</sup> The representatives of the chorus acclaim Cleon's conqueror.

In the first scene of the Peace (426-458), in which libations are made before the attempt to rescue Peace, actors played the rôles of Trygaeus and Hermes. By the tradition of the manuscripts the chorus also took an important part. If we assume that both leaders spoke, their parts are easily determined. The first leader in serious tone urges Hermes to take direction of their attempt (428-430). He follows the three verses of the prayer offered by Trygaeus with three of similar import (444-446); he forbids libation to Ares (457<sup>a</sup>) and finally gives command to all to lay hold on the ropes (458). The second leader speaks in lighter vein (439-440, 450-453, 455, 457<sup>c</sup>). There is hardly a scene in Aristophanes in which somebody does not play the part of *βωμολόχος*. In the second scene of this play (508-549), in which the final effort to restore Peace is successful, the first leader again has the superior part (508, 512, 517-519); the rôle of the second is subordinate (510, 514-515). The scene is in part lyrical.

In the first scene of the Birds, which is short (434-450), probably the second leader alone takes part (442<sup>b</sup>-443<sup>a</sup>, 444<sup>a</sup>, 445-446<sup>a</sup>, 447). Both have been active in the close of the preceding parodos. Similarly in the scene that immediately precedes the parabasis the second leader probably makes the genial suggestion that Peithetaerus and Euelpides shall be given a good breakfast and Procne be sent out to 'play with' the chorus (658<sup>a</sup>, 658c-660). The first leader, at the close of the preceding debate, has just recited the anapaestic tetrameters (636-637) that follow the lyric sung by the whole chorus and serve as an introduction to the following scene.

Both leaders have a part in the scene of the Thesmophoriazusae in which the sex of the unhappy Mnesilochus is revealed. At the approach

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<sup>1</sup> Cod. A assigns 1253 to the chorus, 1254-1256 to Demosthenes.



of Cleisthenes, the first leader stops the wrangling of Mnesilochus and Micca (571-573) and the second welcomes Cleisthenes with a jest (582-583)<sup>1</sup> and speaks the appropriate verses that follow (589, 607). The first leader takes the situation more seriously (586, 597-602, 613-614).

That part of a comedy which in its form most nearly resembles the single scene which we have been considering has been named 'episode.' The name has been transferred from tragedy and is appropriate in so far as these episodes are always followed at least by an ode and antode (a 'stasimon'), and with a single exception are trimetrical. They do not, however, differ essentially from 'scenes': they are not paired, they are composed in the same rhythm, they may include within their limits lyric or anapaestic passages; but, on the other hand, they are in general longer, they are always followed by a double lyric and they occur only in the second half of the play. In consequence of the fact last stated, the 'coryphaeus' does not often appear in them as a speaker, since this is that part of a comedy in which, after the theme has been revealed and established, it is illustrated by the successive appearance of many characters, who would render active participation of the leaders of the half-choruses, except in lyric commoi, unnecessary or awkward. In the *Birds* only four of the twenty-one characters that speak appear before the parabasis; nineteen appear after it. We observe, therefore, that the leaders' function is almost always confined to the beginning of the episodes. One of them may announce the coming of a new character, as in *Acharnians* 1069-1070, or welcome him immediately on his appearance, as in *Wasps* 1297-1298, or briefly engage him in dialogue at the beginning of the episode when as yet only one actor has appeared, as in *Lysistrata* 706-707, 710, 712, 714, 716. Both leaders may take part, as in the first episode of the *Plutus* (627-770), where the first leader addresses an inquiry (631-632) to Carion when he enters from the house of Chremylus, and shouts with joy in dochmiacs (637) when he answers. Carion continues 'Rejoice ye must, whether ye will (*βοῦ-λῆσθε*) or not,' and the second leader breaks forth (639-640), also in dochmiacs.

The law thus established, that trimetrical participation of the leaders

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<sup>1</sup> ὦ παῖ he says to Cleisthenes, but the first leader (602) ὦ πρόξενε.

of the half-choruses is confined in episodes to the beginning enables us to deal confidently with two doubtful cases. In the first episode of the *Knights* (943-972), Enger assigned 970-971<sup>a</sup> to the chorus and the editors have adopted his change. The manuscripts assign the verses to Demus<sup>1</sup> or to Cleon;<sup>2</sup> no manuscript attributes them to the chorus. They are entirely appropriate to Demus, who is the person on the scene chiefly interested in the oracles. When he says *ἔν' οὐτοσὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσῃ*, he refers to the first leader who stands near at hand.<sup>3</sup> The Sausage-man has 971<sup>b</sup>. In the fourth episode of the *Plutus* (959-1096), the three oldest manuscripts (R V A) assign 962-963 to the chorus, consistently with the poet's general practice. The following verse announces an introit, and the next two verses (965-966) belong to the person who now enters from the house. The Ravenna manuscript assigns these either to the chorus, which is manifestly impossible, or to an *οἰκέτης*; V gives them to Carion; A U to Chremylus. V assigns 970-971<sup>a</sup> also to Carion, but thereafter gives the corresponding parts persistently to the chorus as far as 1040<sup>b</sup>-1041.<sup>4</sup> We refuse to follow the ascription in V,<sup>5</sup> not only because A consistently assigns all these verses to Chremylus, but also because such participation as this of the chorus as actor cannot be paralleled in any other episode.

The exode of a comedy also is a single part. A 'coryphaeus' appears in the exode in all the comedies of Aristophanes except the *Frogs* and *Plutus*,<sup>6</sup> and here as elsewhere the distribution to the two leaders of the verses assigned to the 'chorus' is made without difficulty and adds vivacity to the action. Compare the dialogue in the *Knights*, followed by the introit of rejuvenated Demus (1319-1320, 1322, 1324, 1329-1330, 1333-1334). In the *Thesmophoriazusae* the leaders conspire with Euripides against the peeler (1164, 1170-1171, 1217, 1218<sup>b</sup>-

<sup>1</sup> Cod. R A Γ Θ M.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. V Vp3.

<sup>3</sup> Compare passages in which one of the leaders is addressed in the singular number, e. g. *Peace* 454, where Trygaeus says *ἦ μόνον λέγε*, and the leader answers *ἦ μόνον λέγω*; cf. also *Birds* 444<sup>b</sup> with 445-446<sup>a</sup>, 447, and note 407.

<sup>4</sup> Except 974 to Carion, 1019 to the Old Woman (where the compendium for *γραῦς* was confused with that for *Χρέμυλος*), and 1021, 1033, where the lineola occurs.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the scribe has confused the compendia for *χορός* and *Χρέμυλος*.

<sup>6</sup> I assume that the last verses in each play were taken by the whole chorus.

1219, 1220b-1221, 1223-1224, 1226). Sometimes the second leader enforces or caps a sentiment just expressed by the other, as in the Clouds (1454-1455, 1458-1461) and Acharnians (1228, 1230).

The parodoi in Aristophanes vary in form. In each instance the poet has employed the particular form that is best adapted to carry forward the action at this important stage of its development. Here the chorus made its first appearance and dominated the scene. In the earlier plays in particular it often came swinging into the orchestra, probably four abreast and six deep, to the rhythmic movement of long recitative rhythms; but whether it appeared in this compact form or — to pass to the other extreme — in apparent disorder, as in the Birds, the division into half-choruses seems to have prevailed. The main parodos in only two plays lacks ode and antode and in each of these it is brief and is immediately followed by a paired part that begins with a lyric.<sup>1</sup> Indications are not lacking that this recognized division of the chorus effected a symmetrical, paired development of the beginnings of some of the parodoi. In the first parodos of the Acharnians (204-346), the ode and antode (208-218 = 223-233) are each introduced by four trochaic tetrameters. On conclusion of the antode, some member of the chorus in three trochaic tetrameters (234-236) exhorts his comrades to make search for the offender. Then the warning voice of Dicaeopolis is heard — *εὐφημέϊτε εὐφημέϊτε* — as he enters from his house with his family to celebrate the rural Dionysia, and again three trochaic tetrameters (238-240), in which the speaker enjoins silence and withdrawal from view. The ode and antode were taken by the two half-choruses; it seems probable that their two leaders respectively recited the verses indicated (204-207, 234-236, and 219-222, 238-240).<sup>2</sup> The principle seems to prevail also at the beginning of the resumption of the parodos (Parodos II). When Dicaeopolis has finished the phallic song, the chorus emerges from concealment and the leaders urge an attack upon him, the first in two trochaic dimeters (280-281):

<sup>1</sup> Knights 247-302, immediately followed by the debate; Peace 301-345, immediately followed by a trimetrical syzygy in the order of (1) ode, (2) epirrhema.

<sup>2</sup> It is not without significance that some of the manuscripts insert *ἡμιχόριον* before parts of this parodos, however confused the ascription may be. This assignment is made before 208 and before *οἶμοι* in the same verse in Γ E Vb1 M9 E2 B; before *οἶμοι* in 208 in Vp2 Vp3.

οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτος·  
βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε.

The second takes up the charge, with change of rhythm, in two cretic dimeters (282-283):

παῖε πᾶς τὸν μιάρων·  
οὐ βαλεῖς; οὐ βαλεῖς;

But parodoi composed in this symmetrical fashion throughout would have been monotonous and not well adapted to express the lively and vigorous action that characterizes this part of comedy. We find, therefore, that exact correspondence ceases in many of the parodoi, when the members of the chorus are once securely in position on the floor of the orchestra, and passes into apparently irregular dialogue. As the chorus in the *Knights* enters, the first leader recites four trochaic tetrameters (247-250). The second leader, marching with him in the front rank, takes the four that follow (251-254).<sup>1</sup> The chorus is hostile to Cleon, and he appeals to the heliasts for help. The first leader assails him in bitter language (258-265); in a moment of weakness he endeavors to propitiate his adversaries, but is at once attacked by the second leader (269-272) and cries out. The first leader taunts him (274) and the Sausage-man comes into the action,<sup>2</sup> gallantly supported by the second leader (276-277). Cleon now faces three opponents. The scene gains in liveliness with numbers.

The parodos of the *Wasps* formed the subject of G. Hermann's special investigation.<sup>3</sup> He distributed the opening verses (230-247) among six members of the chorus, as Starkie later among four.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless only two persons seem here to be characterized, and the characterization is marked. One, who has not yet lost his vigor although he is an elderly man, urges his comrades to make haste, addressing some of them and naming others (230-234). The second, whose mind

<sup>1</sup> Note that his verses begin with ἀλλὰ and cf. Arnoldt, *Chorpartien*, p. 10 and 93; Muff, *Die chorische Technik des Sophocles*, p. 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts assign 258-265, 269-272, 274, 276-277 to the chorus; 266-268, 273 to Cleon; and 275 to the Sausage-man. Cod. Θ assigns 282-283 also to the chorus.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. III.

<sup>4</sup> See his admirable edition of the *Vespae* (1897), pp. xxviii and 19.

dwells on the past, recalls not without pleasure a youthful adventure in Byzantium (235-239). The first interrupts this strain of anecdote and again urges haste and gives a reason. His verses begin with ἀλλ' ἐγκονῶμεν ἄνδρες and end ἀλλὰ σπεύδωμεν ὧνδρες ἥλικες πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι (240-245). "Aye," says the second, "we must be going, but it is a deuce of a bad road" (246-247). The rhythm now changes, and it is the second leader who talks with the boy that carries the lamp to light the way of the second half-chorus. "'Tis a bad lamp," the old man says with melancholy insistence, "and a bad boy, and foul weather." The other leader, still eager to be going, impatiently wonders why Philocleon fails to join them. He must be roused with a song. The Ravenna manuscript prefixes the lineola to verse 266.

The parodos of the Birds is an excellent illustration of the poet's skill in devising a form suited to the theme. The chorus probably enter in regular formation,<sup>1</sup> but break rank at the εἴσοδος and run chirping and calling in confusion about the orchestra. It seems not unlikely that verses 310-312 and 314-316 (dochmiacs) and 319 were taken by the united chorus. The Hoopoo, in 320-321, repeats his fatal announcement and the two leaders assail him with reproach (322-323<sup>a</sup>, 323<sup>c</sup>, 325<sup>a</sup>, 326<sup>a</sup>). The two half-choruses then rapidly reform for ode and antode; the first half-chorus sings and the second dances, the second sings and the first dances. Presently they advance to the attack (364, 365). At this point the Hoopoo intervenes and the leaders reply (369-370, 373-374, 381-382, 385). In the lyric dialogue that ends the parodos, both leaders take part, the first leader, who has recited the introductory anapaests, beginning (406, 408, 410-411, 414<sup>b</sup>-415, 417-420,<sup>2</sup> 426, 428, 431-433). It can hardly be denied that this lively scene gains in vivacity by giving the second leader a part.

The first parodos of the Peace is extremely vivacious. The chorus has been summoned to rescue the goddess and comes marching into the orchestra joyous and exulting. As in the Acharnians and Knights, each leader has four trochaic tetrameters (301-304, 305-308). The

<sup>1</sup> Six birds are named in verses 297-301, the first file, and six each in verses 302, 303, 304.

<sup>2</sup> Here the number of the verb changes; the second leader is thinking especially of Peithetaerus and says ὁρᾷ τι κρέ. The first leader has previously used plural and dual forms, referring to both the strangers.

chorus forms in separate half-choruses, facing the audience and Trygaeus, who is the only other person on the scene. He deprecates their noisy entrance, in fear that they may rouse the demon of War within, and each leader answers, the second in his joy shouting aloud (311-312, 316-317). Trygaeus again remonstrates with them, whereupon each leader begins to dance, and the half-choruses imitate them in pantomime. The dancing continues through the dialogue, the leaders concerting their movements.

TRYGAEUS (*addressing both leaders*)

'Zounds! you'll surely be our ruin: stop your clamour, I entreat:  
He will by and bye come trampling everything beneath his feet.'

FIRST LEADER (*both leaders begin to dance*)

'Let him stamp, and tramp, and trample, let him do whate'er he will,  
I am so immensely happy that I really can't be still.'

TRYGAEUS (*looking from one to the other in despair*)

'What the mischief! What's the matter? do not, by the Gods, I pray,  
With your dancings and your prancings spoil our noble work today.'

SECOND LEADER

'Really now I didn't mean to: no, I didn't, I declare:  
Quite without my will my ankles will perform this joyous air.'

TRYGAEUS (*addressing the second leader*)

'Well, but don't go on at present; cease your dancing or you'll rue it.'

SECOND LEADER

'Look, observe, I've really ceased it.'

TRYGAEUS

'So you say, but still you do it.'

SECOND LEADER

'Only once I do beseech you; only just a single hop.'

TRYGAEUS

'Well then, one: make haste about it; only one and then you stop.'

FIRST LEADER (*both leaders dance vigorously*)

'Stop? of course we stop with pleasure if 'twill your designs assist.'

TRYGAEUS

'Well, but look: you're still proceeding.'

SECOND LEADER

'Just, by Zeus, one other twist.

Let me fling my right leg upwards, and I'll really then refrain.'

## TRYGAEUS

'This indulgence too I'll grant you, so you don't offend again.'

## FIRST LEADER

'Hah ! but here's my left leg also : it must have its turn, 'tis plain —  
I'm so happy, glad, delighted getting rid of arms at last,  
More than if, my youth renewing, I the slough of Age had cast.'<sup>1</sup>

If the theory of the active participation of both leaders in the dialogue is accepted, it affords welcome relief in an unexpected quarter, the prologue of the *Ecclesiazusae*. The chorus gathers at the opening of this comedy before the house of Praxagora and departs thence, at that part of the play where ordinarily the *parodos* begins, to the meeting of the assembly. The manuscripts and earliest editions recognize that three women, besides Praxagora, are present and speak in the prologue. These they designate as *γυνή τις*, *ἑτέρα γυνή*, and *ἄλλη*. In the edition of Portus (1607) these three appear as five, *γυνή τις*, *ἑτέρα γυνή*, *ἄλλη γυνή*, *ἄλλη γυνή*, *ἄλλη γυνή*.<sup>2</sup> Brunck (1783) made the number of women nine, besides Praxagora. Beer reduced these to two, giving verses 30-31, 41-42, 46-47<sup>a</sup>, 86-87, 213<sup>c</sup>, 245-249, 250<sup>b</sup>-251<sup>a</sup>, 252<sup>a</sup>, 254, 256<sup>a</sup>, 258-259<sup>a</sup>, 261, to the "Chorführerin." Bergk (1852) gave 30-31 and 43-45 to the 'chorus.'

The assignment of verses to the chorus by Beer and Bergk is significant. Of the women who speak, whether three or nine, only one besides Praxagora appears from the scene (at 35<sup>b</sup>-40). The rest come into the orchestra through the *εἰσόδος*, and are part of the body of women who subsequently form in two half-choruses (at 285 ff.). Two are needed besides Praxagora and her neighbor, the *γυνή* who appears at 35<sup>b</sup>, to carry forward the action of the prologue. It seems natural to assume that these two women, who were members of the chorus, were the two leaders, as in the *Lysistrata*. On this assumption the parts might be distributed as follows.

Praxagora soon after the opening of the play sees a person approach at a distance with a lamp, and retires from view. This person is the first leader, who exhorts her women as they come trooping into the orchestra (30-31). Praxagora comes forth and chides them (she uses

<sup>1</sup> I avail myself of the version of Mr. Rogers.

<sup>2</sup> See his list of *dramatis personae*.

the plural ὑμᾶς) for being late, and then wakens her neighbor. Other women are seen to be approaching, and Praxagora distinguishes three of them while still at a distance. These other women are to constitute the second half-chorus,<sup>1</sup> and their leader, while still in the εἰσόδος, is heard to urge them to make haste (43-45). Others are recognized and named by the first leader (46-47<sup>a</sup>, 49-50) and by the neighbor. By this time the women who are to constitute the second half-chorus have reached the other group of women, and their leader addresses Praxagora (54-56). Praxagora directs those assembled to sit down, and then asks whether they have made the preparations agreed upon. Both leaders answer in turn (60-64, 65-67). 'And have you your beards ready?' Both reply, one after the other (70, 71). But in their eagerness they have answered simply for themselves; each woman has twice said ἔγωγε, although Lysistrata asked about all the women. She therefore repeats her inquiry. The rest of the chorus nod assent and her neighbor assures her that they are ready. Then the dialogue continues. I have indicated at the appropriate place in the table that begins on the following page what verses may have been taken by the first and second leaders.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All the twenty-four women, then, who are to constitute the chorus gather in the orchestra at the beginning of the prologue. Presumably they all come from the town (cf. 53), but in furtherance of their deception they purpose to give themselves a rustic air. Praxagora especially advises this (cf. 276 ff.) when she marshals the two half-choruses at the end of the prologue. Her neighbor catches her spirit, and after suggesting that she and Praxagora shall precede the chorus whom Praxagora has now ranged in order (αὐτῶν in 280), she adds that other women besides themselves will be hurrying *from the country* to the place of meeting. Both ode and antode that follow are rustic in tone. When the second half-chorus sing in 300 of 'these fellows from the town,' they speak in their assumed character of countrymen, and are slyly gibing the citymen in the audience. They are not referring to the members of the other half-chorus. The two half-choruses leave the orchestra one after the other.

<sup>2</sup> The neighbor also takes part in the dialogue (35<sup>b</sup>-40, 51-53, 72<sup>b</sup>, 78, 88-89, 90<sup>b</sup>-92, 279<sup>b</sup>-282<sup>a</sup>). Lysistrata has the verses not otherwise assigned.



ASSIGNMENT OF PARTS TO THE LEADERS OF THE HALF-CHORUSES  
IN TEN<sup>1</sup> PLAYS

(The verses assigned to the second leader are in full faced type. Lyric solo  
parts are in parentheses.)

ACHARNIANS

204-207<sup>2</sup> **219-222** 234-236 **238-240** 280-281<sup>3</sup> **282-283** (285<sup>4</sup>  
287-292 294-295 297-302) 303-304 **307-308** 311-312 **315-316**  
319-320 **323<sup>a</sup>** 324<sup>a</sup> **325<sup>a</sup>** 328-330 **333-334** (336 338-340 **342**  
**344-346**) 364-365<sup>5</sup> **391-392** 557-559<sup>6</sup> **560-561** 562-563 **564-**  
**565** 566-571 **575** 576-577 626-627 628-658 659-664 676-691<sup>7</sup>  
**703-718** (929-931<sup>8</sup> 935 **940-942** **946** **948-951**) (1008-1010<sup>9</sup>  
1013 1015-1017 **1037-1039** **1042** **1044-1046**) 1069-1070<sup>10</sup>  
1143-1149 1228<sup>11</sup> 1230

KNIGHTS

247-250<sup>12</sup> **251-254** 258-265 **269-272** 274 **276-277** 312-313<sup>18</sup>  
333-334<sup>18</sup> 337<sup>14</sup> 341 359-360 366 **389-390** **407-408** **421-422**  
**427-428** **436<sup>b</sup>-437** **440-441** **451<sup>a</sup>** **453-456** **457-460<sup>15</sup>** 464 **470**  
482-487 490-491 **493<sup>a</sup>** **494-495<sup>a</sup>** **495<sup>c</sup>-497** 498-506 507-546  
547-550 565-580<sup>16</sup> **595-610** 611-614<sup>17</sup> 761-762<sup>18</sup> **841-842** **919-**  
**922** **941-942<sup>18</sup>** **1253<sup>16</sup>** 1254-1256 1274-1289<sup>20</sup> **1300-1315** 1319-  
1320<sup>21</sup> **1322** 1324 **1329-1330** 1333-1334 **1381**

<sup>1</sup> The Clouds is purposely omitted. In the foregoing discussion I have used for illustration only those parts of this play which it is agreed belonged to the revised edition.

<sup>2</sup> 204-240: p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> 280-283: p. 120 f.

<sup>4</sup> 284-346: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> 557-577: p. 107 f.

<sup>7</sup> 676-691 = 703-718: p. 110 f.

<sup>8</sup> 929-951: p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> 1008-1046: p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> p. 120.

<sup>12</sup> 247-277: p. 121.

<sup>13</sup> p. 110.

<sup>14</sup> 335-456: p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> 457-497: p. 116.

<sup>16</sup> 565-580 = 595-610: p. 110 f.

<sup>17</sup> p. 114.

<sup>18</sup> For 943-972, see p. 119.

<sup>19</sup> p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> 1274-1287 = 1300-1315: p. 110 f.

<sup>21</sup> p. 119.

WASPS

230-234<sup>1</sup> 235-239 240-245 246-247 249 251-253 258-265  
266-272 (293-296<sup>2</sup> 298 300-302 309-311 313) (334-335<sup>3</sup>  
338-339 342-345) 346-347<sup>4</sup> 350-351 354-355 (365-366 369-  
370 373-378) 379-380<sup>5</sup> 383-384 387-388 (403-404<sup>6</sup> 416a  
417-419 422-425 428-429) 437 441-447 453-455 (473-477  
480-483 486-487) (526-528<sup>7</sup> 532-537 540-545) 546-547<sup>8</sup>  
(631-633 636-641 644-647) 648-649 725-727<sup>9</sup> 728 863-867  
1015-1050 1051-1059 1071-1090<sup>10</sup> 1102-1121 1297-1298<sup>11</sup>  
1516-1517

PEACE

301-304<sup>12</sup> 305-308 311-312 316-317 320-321 324-325 327a  
328 330 331b-332 334-336 428-430<sup>18</sup> 439-440 444-446 450-  
453 455 457a 457c 458 (460<sup>14</sup> 462 469 472) 479-480<sup>15</sup> (490  
496 499) 508<sup>16</sup> 510 (512 514-515 517-519) 556-559 601-602  
617-618 630-631 729-733 734-764 765-774 (856-858<sup>17</sup> 860-  
862 864 909-911 913-915 917)<sup>18</sup> (939-941<sup>19</sup> 943-947 950-955  
1023-1025 1027-1030 1034-1038) 1140-1158<sup>20</sup> 1172-1190 1311  
1316-1328

BIRDS

322-323a<sup>21</sup> 323c 325a 326a 336-338a 352-353 364 365 369-  
370 373-374 381-382 385 400-405 (406<sup>22</sup> 408 410-411 414b-  
415 417-420 426 428 431-433) 442b-443a<sup>23</sup> 444a 445-446a  
447 460-461<sup>24</sup> 464b 467b 470b 470d 476 500a 548-549 553

<sup>1</sup> 230-272: p. 121 f.

<sup>2</sup> 291-316: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 334-378: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 346-347: p. 110; 346-355: p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> 379-388: p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> 403-487: p. 108 f., p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> 526-647: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> p. 114.

<sup>10</sup> 1071-1090 = 1102-1121: p. 110 f.

<sup>11</sup> 1297-1298: p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> 301-336: p. 122 f.

<sup>13</sup> 428-458: p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> 459-499: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> p. 114.

<sup>16</sup> 508-519: p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> 856-921: p. 109.

<sup>18</sup> For 922-1038, see p. 114, n. 3.

<sup>19</sup> 939-1038: p. 109, n. 3.

<sup>20</sup> 1140-1158 = 1172-1190: p. 110 f.

<sup>21</sup> 322-433: p. 122.

<sup>22</sup> 406-433: p. 109.

<sup>23</sup> 442b-447: p. 117.

<sup>24</sup> 460-461 = 548-549: p. 109 f.; 460-625: p. 113 f.

571-572<sup>a</sup> 587<sup>b</sup> 592 595<sup>b</sup> 606-607<sup>a</sup> 608<sup>b</sup> 626-627 636-637<sup>1</sup>  
 658<sup>a2</sup> 658<sup>c</sup>-660 685-722 723-736 753-768<sup>8</sup> 785-800<sup>4</sup> 1072-  
 1087<sup>5</sup> 1102-1117 1164-1165<sup>6</sup> 1196-1198 (1313-1314<sup>7</sup> 1316  
 1318-1322 1325-1326 1328 1330-1334) 1726-1730

## LYSISTRATA

254-255<sup>8</sup> 266-270 281-285 306-318 319-320 350-351 352-  
 353 354-355 356-357 358-359 360-361 362-363 364 365 366  
 367 368-369 370 371 372 373 374 375<sup>a</sup> 375<sup>b</sup> 376 377 378<sup>a</sup>  
 378<sup>b</sup> 379<sup>a</sup> 379<sup>b</sup> 380<sup>a</sup> 380<sup>b</sup> 381<sup>a</sup> 381<sup>b</sup> 382<sup>a</sup> 382<sup>b</sup> 383 384 385  
 386 399-402 467-470<sup>9</sup> 471-475 484-485<sup>10</sup> 539-540 549-550  
 614-615<sup>11</sup> 626-635<sup>12</sup> 636-637 648-657 672-681 696-705 706-  
 707<sup>18</sup> 710 712 714 716 959-966<sup>14</sup> 968-969 970 971 1014-  
 1015<sup>15</sup> 1016-1017 1018 1019-1021 1022-1023 1024-1026 1027-  
 1029 1030-1032 1033-1034 1035-1036<sup>a</sup> 1036<sup>b</sup> 1036<sup>c</sup> 1037-1039  
 1040-1042 1072-1075<sup>16</sup> 1078-1079 1082-1085 1088-1089 1093-  
 1094 1106-1107 1108-1111 1221<sup>17</sup> 1228-1238

## THESMOPHORIAZUSAE

381-382<sup>18</sup> 531-532 571-573<sup>19</sup> 582-583 586 589 597-602 607  
 613-614 655-658 659-662 (667-686)<sup>20</sup> 687-688<sup>21</sup> 699-703 705  
 (707-708 715-716 718-725) 726-727 785-813 814-829 830-  
 845<sup>22</sup> 947-952 1164<sup>23</sup> 1170-1171 1217 1218<sup>b</sup>-1219 1220<sup>b</sup>-1221  
 1223-1224 1226

<sup>1</sup> 636-637: p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> 658<sup>a</sup>-660: p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> 753-768 = 785-800: p. 110 f.

<sup>4</sup> For 801-902, see p. 114, n. 3 (ad fin.).

<sup>5</sup> 1072-1087 = 1102-1117: p. 110 f.

<sup>6</sup> 1164-1198: p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> 1313-1334: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> 254-386: p. 103.

<sup>9</sup> 467-550: p. 103 f.

<sup>10</sup> p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> 614-705: p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> 626-635 = 648-657 and 672-681 = 696-705: p. 110 f.

<sup>13</sup> 706-716: p. 104, p. 118.

<sup>14</sup> 959-970: p. 104.

<sup>15</sup> 1014-1042: p. 103.

<sup>16</sup> 1072-1111: p. 105.

<sup>17</sup> 1221-1238: p. 105.

<sup>18</sup> p. 115.

<sup>19</sup> 571-614: p. 117 f.

<sup>20</sup> 667-686 = 707-725: p. 109, n. 1.

<sup>21</sup> p. 110.

<sup>22</sup> p. 110 f.

<sup>23</sup> p. 119 f.

## FROGS

354-371 382-383 394-397 440-443 686-705<sup>1</sup> **718-737<sup>2</sup>**

## ECCLESIAZUSAE

30-31<sup>3</sup> **43-45** 46-47<sup>a</sup> 49-50 **54-56** 60-64 **65-67** 70 **71** 76-  
77 86-87 102-104 **110-111<sup>a</sup>** **115** **120** 124-125 126<sup>b</sup>-127 131<sup>a</sup>  
132<sup>a</sup> 132<sup>c</sup> 133<sup>b</sup> 135<sup>b</sup> 136<sup>b</sup>-143 145-146 **147<sup>b</sup>** **151-155** **157**  
**160<sup>a</sup>** **163-165** **167-168** 189 192<sup>a</sup> 204<sup>a</sup> 213<sup>a</sup> 213<sup>b</sup> **241-242**  
245-249 250<sup>b</sup>-251<sup>a</sup> 252<sup>a</sup> **254** **256<sup>a</sup>** 258-259<sup>a</sup> 261 **262-265**  
285-288 478-479 **480-482** 488-492 **499-503** 514-516 581-582  
1127 **1134** 1151-1162

## PLUTUS

257-258 **259-260** **264** 268-269 **271-272** 275-276 **279-282**  
286 **288-289** 328-331 487-488 631-632<sup>4</sup> 637 **639-640** 962-  
963<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 686-705 = 718-737: p. 110 f.

<sup>2</sup> For 905-906 = 1004-1005, see p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> 30-284: p. 124 f.

<sup>4</sup> 631-640: p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> For 959-1096, see p. 119.